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TO: FDD:

We would appreciate your processing the attached Finnish document on a routine priority along the following guidelines:

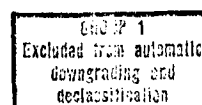
1. Translate Page 32.
2. Scan the document for answers to the following questions:
 - a. How strongly is nationalization of industry emphasized (does it appear to be fairly routine or is it being drummed home)?
 - b. Apart from the references on pages 35-6, are there any references to or citations from Marx, Engels, and Lenin? Any mention of Stalin? Any actual or implied reference to the Soviet Union as a model? How is the USSR referred to, if at all?
 - c. Is there any reference to a multi-party system? Is it hinted at? If so, how?
 - d. How is the peaceful road to Socialism treated? Is it emphasized? Is the violent road to Socialism rejected explicitly/implicitly? Are there any conditions cited under which violence or violent revolutions are condoned?

In answering the questions above, we would appreciate having citations from the text (translated; give page number) which have a bearing on the question.

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
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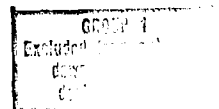


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SPECIAL TRANSLATION

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Program of Finnish Communist Party

From Socialism to Communism (p 32)

By ending the private ownership of the means of production and the submission and exploitation founded on economic differentiation, Socialism creates the foundation for the true soundness of the nation, for the flourishing of culture and the free development of the individual. At the same time it opens the way for a step-by-step transition to the highest stage of a Communistic society. Above all, this signifies such an abundance of products that each member of the society can acquire them according to his need. This can be achieved only at a high level of productive forces.

Under Communism no social class differences will exist. Then also the fundamental difference between intellectual and physical work and between the rural areas and cities will disappear. The development of technics and the continued rise of man's intellectual level leads to his beginning to feel the inner need for work, the satisfaction of which brings him pleasure. To satisfy this need he will work voluntarily and in accordance with his abilities and talents for the common good.

It is clear that the final and complete satisfaction of all human needs can never be achieved. Since the development under Communism will also go forward, new needs which must be satisfied will also always arise with it. In practice, a Communist society will be a cultural society, whose development has no bounds, of free people without economic cares.

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1. After a general recitation of the evils of monopoly capital and private ownership of the means of production, the program got down to specifics. In addition to urging the nationalization of the large concerns, the program allowed that there was room for some private and communal ownership of property and expressed support for the cooperative system of ownership. The following are translations of the sections dealing specifically with the issue of nationalization:

"Assuring the [success of the] peaceful road means crushing the power of private capital and changing ownership relationships so that the bulk of the means of production will be transferred to the management and supervision of the Diet and other bodies democratically elected by the citizenry. It presupposes that the kind of profound reforms are to be carried out that affect the entire structure of economic and social life and create a basis for the Socialistic system. These kinds of structural reforms are, for example, the regulating and supervising private capital investments, transferring the activity of banking and insurance establishments to government control, placing the foreign trade of both private and large concerns under government management and nationalizing the large business establishments and natural resources. The development of Finland's economy also presupposes the substantial expansion of statemanaged industrial activity." (p 18)

"The ownership by society of the means of production and the planned management of production by society can be achieved only when the working class together with other sectors of the working population have the decisive voice in society..." "The Finnish Communist Party proceeds from the fact that Socialistic democracy can not signify the obliteration of democratic institutions and rights which have been achieved by this struggle but signifies only their continued development." (p24)

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"The foundation of Socialistic production is the ownership by society of the most important basic means of production, of which state ownership has appeared to be one practical main form. Since a Socialistic state is a democratic state, it indicates that the critical means of production are under the ownership and supervision of all the people. The creation of state's property occurs by nationalizing the industrial and other business enterprises, natural resources, big banks, insurance establishments and foreign trade all of which are owned by the big capitalistic concerns and monopolies. At the same time that they are being expanded and developed, the state continuously forms new production establishments. The production and business enterprises in state ownership must operate on the basis of the socialistic principles of gains and profits and healthy economic competition must prevail among them. The planning concentrated around big production must not stifle the independence of production establishments." (pp25-26)

"Here in Finland, where traditionally communal self-government has developed, the communal ownership of certain production establishments can be considered favorable. Also all such group ownership which does not place people in a discriminatory position and does not make possible economic subordination or exploitation is to be considered a form of Socialistic ownership. A certain form of this type of group ownership is cooperative ownership, the development of which the Socialistic state for its part will support." (p 26)

"The Finnish Communist Party position is that during the building of Socialism many small and even medium sized enterprises in private ownership can significantly assist economic development and maintain a high level of service."...."The individual right of small producers organized by society to own their means of production could be fruitfully combined with the Socialistic planned economy." (p 26)

"The Socialistic state based on a common alliance of the working strata of the population will not dispossess the working agricultural population of its land or other production means." (p26)...."Not only raising the standard of living of the people, but also the farmers' own interests demand the transfer of machines to joint use and also the development of other cooperation in agriculture and forestry. However, this can occur only with the agricultural population's voluntary cooperation which the Socialistic state naturally supports." (P 27)...."Since each person receives compensation according to his contribution to work, everything he has acquired in this way remains his personal property. By no means will Socialism abolish this kind of ownership. On the contrary, it enables the workers to amass it to an even greater amount than does capitalism, since there is no obstacle to the accumulation of personal property acquired through work. The only restriction is that it cannot be used for the economic submission and exploitation of other people." (pp27-28)

2. Other than the references on pp 35-36, the program contained only one reference to Marx, Engels and Lenin. There was no mention of Stalin or any reference to Stalinism in the program. Nowhere in the program was the USSR mentioned as a model for Socialism. The actual name USSR was mentioned only once. There were a couple of references to the USSR but not as providing the model for socialism. Instead while it was repeatedly stated that Finland must find its own road to Socialism based on its own conditions, it was stated that the experiences of the Socialist countries could assist the CPs now preparing for Socialism.

"It [Socialism] is the first society 'in which the free development of every individual is a condition for all free development' (Marx-Engels Communist Party Manifesto)." (p 31)

"The development begun by the October Socialist Revolution leads to Socialism everywhere. The direction of this development is visible also in our own country's economic and social changes." (p 2)

"The Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty between Finland and the USSR has established our country's main foreign political lines." (p 16)

"Strong internal democracy, the unity and understanding of all democratic forces for the defense of the big national values as well as a foreign policy based on friendship and trust of neighbors best assure our independence and freedom." (p 17)

"Socialistic revolutions in various countries have arisen and developed according to their own historical and national special conditions. The experience acquired from the Socialistic countries, their triumphs as well as errors, greatly assist those Communist parties which are now preparing for Socialism. However, along with the international experiences, it is imperative to pay attention to our own historical experience as well as the influence of our national traditions, our special traits, our customs and our habits." (p 15)

"Our people have the possibility to make certain that only Socialism correctly adapted to Finland's conditions is able to use its creative power, energy and genius for the benefit of its people." (p 17)

"Marx, Engels and Lenin have created and developed theoretical bases founded on scientific studies from which Finland's road to Socialism can be mapped out."...."While creatively adapting the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, Communists must seek the solutions from their own country's conditions.".... "To the best of its ability, the Finnish Communist Party strives to make Marxist theory known in our country and to apply its policies to our time and our conditions." (p 35)

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3. The program approved the multiparty system for Finland.

life include political

"The traditions of Finnish political organization, the multi-party system and representative assembly, the election of whose members and whose activity the political parties substantially influence. Also municipal self-government has become deeply rooted in our society. For the entire state government and municipal self-government to be truly democratic implies the freedom of speech, assembly and association as well as the right to strike and demonstrate, free elections and the equal possibilities for all citizens to participate in political and social life. Also an opposition acting within the framework of legal procedures is included in the practice of democracy. Respecting the traditions of the Finnish workers' movement, the Finnish Communist Party defends these rights and freedoms in present conditions as well as in the transition to socialism and when socialism prevails." (p 12)

4. The peaceful road was emphasized and appeared in various forms--peaceful transition, peaceful road, peaceful conditions, etc. While violent revolutions were ruled out, violence was considered as a defensive measure.

"Democratic reforms and improvements for their part will open the road to Socialistic reforms and improve the possibilities for transition to Socialism. The Finnish Communist Party proceeds from the fact that sooner or later this development will lead to Socialism since the material conditions have ripened to the extent that each significant democratic reform is at the same time a step forward towards Socialism.

Only then is Finland a true democracy when the oligarchy of the owners of private big capital is crushed and the bodies jointly elected by the people have the big industries and decisive voice in political as well as economic life." (p 13)

"The Finnish Communist Party's basic objective is that Socialism be achieved in our country along the peaceful, parliamentary road in which Finland's transition

to Socialism would be a series of manifold reforms. The reforms affecting the rule of monopolies, the structure of economic and social life and of power relations are a part of the deeply-influencing revolutionary changes which lead to Socialism".... The Finnish Communist Party strives **in** accordance with the old traditions of the workers' movement to assure the permanence and continuity of democratic and peaceful procedures during the capitalistic system and on the road to building Socialism as well as under Socialistic conditions." (p 14)

"The present international Communist movement has established that the possibilities for peaceful transition have grown considerably during our time. Even peaceful transition to Socialism is a revolution, since in a critical turning point the succession of developments leading to it signifies a radical social change. The question does not involve the changing of a traditional government, but only a basic change occurring in the ownership of big production means and in the power relations of social classes. This, however, does not need to occur at one time or within a short period of time but it can be a step-by-step series of developments over a longer period." (pp 14-15)

"Finland's special conditions, particularly the form of development which has occurred in our country's political, social and economic situation has created more ~~f~~^{av}orable conditions than previously for achieving the reforms leading to Socialism." (p 15)

"Finland has a strong, vigilant and experienced Communist Party, as well as a peoples democratic movement striving for Socialism. Good conditions have grown for cooperation in the workers' movement and the role of the leftist parties is so great that they can achieve a majority position in the parliament and maintain as well as strengthen it. Together with other democratic forces they can become an effective obstacle to the power of monopoly capitalism and destroy it." (pp 15-16)

"The present constitution does not prohibit even the kind of legislative reforms which even now would lead to Socialistic changes. It also is entirely democratic to reform and develop both the constitutional as well as other laws in accordance with legislative procedures." (p 16)

"Finland's external relations also create conditions for peaceful and democratic development. It is not possible for our internal democratic development to be crushed with the aid of external forces as happened in 1918." (p 16)

"However, a condition for peaceful transition is that world peace is preserved and that the peaceful competition between world systems will triumph over the cold war. The position of the Finnish Communist Party is that one cannot be neutral on the issue of war and peace. Finland can also play a significant role in international life. The Finnish Communist Party strongly supports the kinds of policies which will assure world peace. The preservation and strengthening of our independence and national sovereignty is one of the basic conditions for our democratic development." (p 17)

"The significant reforms of the transition phase cannot be resolved by one party alone in Finland." (p 19)...."Transition to Socialism assumes trusting cooperation among the allied parties, which naturally is possible only on a basis of equality. The party which can be considered the leader during the transition to Socialism is determined in the course of events according to how each of them promotes the interests of Socialism." (p 20)

"There still appear different views between the Social Democrats and Communists specifically in relation to Socialism. On the other hand, new possibilities have arisen for rapprochement of views as a real consequence of changes which have occurred in the world with the result that problems which interest many Communists and Social Democrats appear in new forms. Among these are the question of war and peace, peaceful competition and coexistence between world systems as well as the question about

increasing the possibilities for peaceful transition." (p 20) "Those Finnish Social Democrats who truly desire to take advantage of the peaceful possibilities in the transition to Socialism can achieve their objective only through the joint efforts with the Communists. Those who sincerely and consistently strive to achieve Socialism by peaceful means must do their utmost to strengthen the unified mass powers of the workers and to increase the supporters of Socialism." (p 21)

"The farther the cooperation between the Communists and Social Democrats develops for democracy and Socialism, the more certain will be Finland's peaceful transition to Socialism." (p 37)

In the following paragraph, the program rejects the violent means to Socialism:

"It is clear that the achievement of Socialism in our country cannot be undertaken by violence by some minority group against the majority of the people. The position of the Finnish Communist Party is that for the building of socialism in Finland, the political power is needed which assures both legally and economically the democratic rights and freedoms of all of its citizens and which from the beginning enjoys the clearly-expressed support of the people, develops democratic traditions and follows the democratic processes." (p 24).... "If a Socialistic state has to use forceful means, they always are aimed at defending the affairs of the majority of the people against possible attacks by its enemies." (p 25)